

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE IN FULL

AIR POUCH

HUL-A- 793

2003

SECRET
PBSUCCESS / RYBAT

16 MAY 1954

Chief of Station, Guatemala

LINCOLN

INFO: PBSUCCESS, Headquarters

KUGOWN

Black Letter, "To the Secretaries of all Basic Committees of the PGT"

REF: (A) GUAT 539
(B) HUL-A-785

1. We are sending you herewith 1500 copies of subject letter, following your suggestion made in reference A. The English text of the letter is also attached. The Spanish translation was revised by the target personnel in our SHERWOOD editoria team, in order to obtain as much linguistic accuracy as was possible in so short a time.

2. Distribution of this letter must obviously be handled with all possible care and circumspection. Have RAZMARA therefore discuss every aspect of it in sufficient detail with ESSENCE, when turning over the material. First of all, the letter should be mailed to its ostensible addressees, i.e. the secretaries of all Basic Committees of the PGT as well as to other PGT officials who would be logical recipients. If possible, mail it in envelopes with the imprint or with a rubberstan from the PGT office: if neither is available, do not delay distribution but mail in plain envelopes -- first class, of course.

3. Two days later, begin to "leak" it to selected non-communist recipients, especially to editors of the independent press, a few foreign correspondents (especially correspondents other than PBPRIME) and opposition members of congress, a few suitable foreign diplomats, possibly also some leading army officers. Select especially such addressees of whom you can be reasonably sure that they will take suitable action, give the letter publicity, address inquiries to the government, inform their home governments, etc. You are in the best position to judge how this leaking can be done. One method might be: to attach to a copy of the letter a little note (presumably handwritten), addressed to whomever you want to send it to and reading approximately like this:

"Until now, I have been a faithful activist of the PGT. But I see clearly that this plan of sending all our exports to Russia will

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ruin our country. I therefore want you to do your utmost to defeat this plan while it is time. I am afraid of reprisals from the comrades, if they discover that I gave you this letter. You will therefore excuse me if I don't sign my true name and address . . ."

Instead of the last two sentences, you might of course also sign a real name and mail the letter in a small town. Not too many letters can be sent with notes of this type. In other cases, you might have somebody slip a copy of the letter into the mailbox of the intended addressee: in this case, make sure that the copy gets a bit crumpled, as it would look if it had been mailed to somebody first and then this somebody carried it in his pocket until he threw it surreptitiously into that mailbox. In other cases again, one of your contacts may hand it directly over, pretending to have received it from a disgruntled communist. There may be still other locally applicable methods of which we are not aware at this moment.

4. ESSENCE must keep the true character and origin of this letter from his associates. He should pretend that he received the text from a PGT official, that he thinks the letter is so damaging in itself that he wants to make sure that as many people as logical should receive it, even if the PGT should have decided at the last moment not to distribute it -- or some similar story to the same effect. Impress upon him most emphatically the fact that there is nothing more damaging in propaganda than black material whose true origin has been exposed.

5. Advise us (LINC & HQS) immediately of any effects of the distribution, especially of any mention of the letter in public print, or in a speech, etc. As soon as the "leak" has become public, both LINC and HQS will attempt to give the letter some publicity outside the country.

JEROME C. DUNBAR

JCD/ EFL/ sgw

16 MAY 1954

Distribution:

- 2 - GUAT (w/att)
- 2 - WASH (w/att) ✓
- 3 - LINC (w/att)

C O P Y

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

To the Secretaries of all Basic Committees of the PGT:

Esteemed Comrades:

The following information will serve you as basis for a large-scale campaign of propaganda and popular enlightenment which must reach every single worker and peasant throughout Guatemala, as well as all other progressive elements of our people, mobilising them for the most active support of our democratic government and for the defense of our country against their foreign interventionists and their mercenary agents in our midst. However, you must keep this completely secret until the basic facts have been publicly announced in a speech which the President is preparing now. In the meantime, make your plans as to how to carry out best your local campaign, how to insure maximum attendance at public meetings, fullest cooperation with the other popular parties and groups, with press and radio as well as the most extensive use of schools, agrarian committees, local labor unions and any other organs through which you can expect to

achieve a true mobilisation of the masses!

The leaders of our party, in a series of conferences with President Arbenz and members of his cabinet, have succeeded in bringing about a momentous decision:

The liberation of Guatemala from its economic subservience to world capitalism, especially to the United States ! !

The representatives of our Political Committee, led by comrades Fortuny and Gutierrez, have succeeded in convincing the President and his Ministers that our country cannot be truly free as long as our economy depends upon our exports, particularly our coffee exports, to the U.S. The war-mongering capitalists of Wall Street obviously retain a strangle hold over the progressive reconstruction of our country, able to ruin the development of our economic and social progress by import restrictions, fraudulent manipulation of prices, and so forth.

It has therefore been decided in these conferences with the President

to switch the bulk of our exports as rapidly as possible from the

U.S. and other capitalist countries to the Soviet Union and other

countries in the camp of peace and progress!

A final trade agreement with the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies, including -- we hope -- not only Guatemala but other Latin American republics as well, will be signed at the trade conference to be convened by the Soviet Government in Moscow next September, about which you have already read in our press and heard over the radio.

However, the first shipments of coffee to Russia are ^{already} scheduled to leave before the end of June.

As an additional great advantage of this basic change in our foreign trade, we shall receive from the Soviet Union in direct exchange the goods which we need to import, primarily farm machinery which will permit us to lift our farming system gradually on the same high level of socialized agriculture which our comrades in Russia have already reached, but also defense materials with which to protect us against the imperialist warmongers!

On the alert for quick and effective action!

It is to be foreseen that the U.S. capital as well as the government

of Washington which is in the service of Wall Street will violently protest against our country's decision to break away from the chains of exploitation by foreign capital. We must also fear that there will be some people in our country who may raise hypocritical objections against this great plan of our President -- people who have shared in the capitalist export profits but also men who have been deceived by the lying smear campaigns against the Soviet Union, people who may pretend that they prefer U.S. Dollars to Soviet farm machinery, and so forth.

You are therefore instructed to prepare for the most vigorous activities by all our comrades to rally the entire population around the President and our party in support of this new, revolutionary foreign trade policy -- keeping in mind, however, the need to maintain strict secrecy until the President himself has publicly announced this momentous decision!

For the

PROPAGANDA COMMISSION OF THE POLITICAL

COMMITTEE OF THE P.O.T. :

Alfredo GUEHRA Borges, Secretary